2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[66] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[67] Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[68] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[69] The sororate was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[70] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[71]

Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[72] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[73] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[74] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[75]

Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation, and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[76] During this period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[66] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[67] Holm, 1834, p. 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[68] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[69] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 202.
[70] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[71] Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 126; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[73] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[74] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[75] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[76] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking. . .she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house. . . ."[79] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[80] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[81] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[82] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[83]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[84] The duration of mourning was about a year.[85] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[86] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[87] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[88] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[89] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[90] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[91] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[79] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[80] Ibid.; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[81] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[82] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Lenkiel, 1794, p. 58.
[83] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[84] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[85] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[86] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Lenkiel, 1794, p. 64.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[88] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 69; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[89] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 78.
[90] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[91] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

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good and preserved a certain decency, have fallen into disuse. At the present time, even if the Indian would take a wife in honorable fashion and proceed in accordance with the above described custom, the parties concerned will not deny his suit in view of the presents, even though the friends and the girl are not willing to accept him. The friends will urge the girl to live with the man a short time, and tell her that if she is not pleased, to leave him again. Thus it happens that women will go from one to another for the sake of the gifts. Yet there are many cases where husband and wife are faithful to one another throughout life.

Occasionally, parents who have a son will agree with parents who have a daughter that in due time their children shall marry. As, however, they can neither persuade nor compel their children against their wishes, it in the end depends upon the children whether the match shall be consummated.[20]

I 584

Among the Mingoes it is not unusual to fix upon children of four or five years of age, with a view to future marriage. In this case the mother of the girl is obliged to bring a basket of bread every week into the house of the boy and to furnish him with firewood. The parents of the boy must supply the girl with meat and clothes, till they are both of a proper age. Their marriage, however, solely depends upon their own free will, for there is never any compulsion. If either man or woman is unwilling to follow up the engagement entered into by parents, no marriage results.

D 586 837

Although there are many Indians who live peaceably with their wives, especially if they have children for whom they care (for if a man has several children he will try to get along with his wife) the younger Indians at the present time generally live together only a very short time after a marriage. Hence, fornication is very common among them, Satan's influence in this respect being very strong.

D 177

If it is asked why the Indians at the present time are more given to vice and disorderly living than formerly, when they were as ignorant heathen as they are now, two reasons may be given. First, much evil unquestionably has been taught them by white people, especially the traders, who were content to live

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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593 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he [574] will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest [224] part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

586 Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continu-● 837 ing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are 582 contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

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17. The Rev. David McClure states that such was the desire for dancing among the Delaware Indians that "they are building a dancing house in this small village, [the capital of the Delawares near the present site of Newcomerstown, O.] which will cost them more labour than one-half of the houses in it" — *Diary*, 77. This is one of the most valuable volumes of early travel (1770-1790) in the Middle West and will often be quoted.

18. It is interesting to compare the accounts of Zeisberger and Heckewelder, the former a jotter down of facts, the latter a formal historian. "The Indians are proud but not vain," write Heckewelder; "They consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. This passion of the Indians which I have called *pride*, but which might perhaps, be better denominated *highmindedness*, is generally combined with a great sense of honour, and not seldom produces actions of the most heroic kind" — *History*, 159, 161. The plain, unpretentious words of Zeisberger, often derogatory of the Indians, have a ring of accuracy that is found in almost no other record.

19. The length of space to which a man can extend his arms.

20. "Courage, art and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior" — Heckewelder, *History*, 166. According to Zeisberger's notion, how appropriate the first lines of the Delaware's chant on going to war: "O poor me!" *Id.* 204.

21. Pontiac's Rebellion.

22. Ottawas.

23. Revolutionary war.

24. Heckewelder's descriptions of Indian abhorrence of marital infidelity are not borne out by Zeisberger or Loskiel. David McClure, writing at Coshocton, in 1772, records: "Several of the aged Councillors had lived with one wife from their youth; but a great part of husbands and wives at Kekalemahpehoong [Delaware capital], had separated and taken others. I was astonished at the profligate description which young Killbuck (whose father had directed him to lodge in my house, and to wait on me), gave me of himself. He slept in a loft, which was ascended by a ladder at the farther end of the house. He conducted a squaw up the ladder every night. I asked him one day, if it was his wife? He said no. I admonished him for his conduct. He said he was nineteen years old, and had had several wives, and that he wanted one more, and he should be happy. It is natural to expect that but few children can be the fruit of such unbounded licentiousness. On an average there are about two or three to a family" — *Diary*, 91.

24½. The distinction here between "Indians" and "savages" implies that the former are Christian and the latter non-christian.

25. Goschgoschünk, in Venango County, Pennsylvania, a Delaware (Monsey) town on the Allegheny River — Edmund De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, 324, *seq.* Few volumes relating to the

nected within the womb. If one is hurt, the other will feel it even though they are separated by many miles. A child whose mother died during its birth, must not be allowed to cry. Someone must try to comfort it so that the spirit of the dead mother may not injure, or even kill the foster parent. 845

Birthmarks are an indication that both parents have experienced difficulties with other people. During his youth one man conversed with a dead person in a vision. The skeleton said to him, "You should know me by the mark on your children. You will know more when they are born." All of his children (boys) had a characteristic pecularity about the eyes, lacking control of the lids so that during the day they blinked constantly. Sometimes a birthmark in the shape of a leaf or berry appears on the child. This is attributed to a dream by the mother. The fruit means good luck and long life. A mark formed like a reptile is considered an evil omen. 845 826 [787]

While nursing the child, the mother must refrain from intercourse with any man other than her husband so that the infant may not have diarrhea. 853 837

A few notes were obtained on the treatment of the hair and teeth of children. 854

When a child's hair is cut, it is left in some out-of-the-way place.[20] It was believed that if the birds used it in building their nests, the child would suffer from headaches. If the remains were burnt, it would cause the hair to become brittle.[21]

During the teething period, a little bag containing finely crushed charcoal is hung about the child's neck. The latter chews upon it to ease his aching gums. A loose milk tooth is pulled out by means of a string, its removal allowing the permanent tooth to grow in straight. The extracted tooth is taken outdoors by the child and thrown in the direction of the east, with the words "My tooth I place down here. I know when you return I will feed you white beans."

A child's nails are trimmed with a knife or scissors. Care is taken not to lose any of the nail trimmings, which are carried into the woods and left upon a stump. At the same time the following words are addressed to the Owl: "Grandpa, I now give you these, your grandchild's nails, to make frames for your eyes."

[20] This and the following paragraph were recorded by Eugene Golomshtok, University of Pennsylvania, 1930.

[21] In adult life gray hair, an indication of longevity, is not pulled out. Its removal would be displeasing to the Creator as a lack of respect for the aged. [288 302]

141.	Any superiority among wives					+	+	−			+	−
142.	strongest					+						
143.	oldest										+	
144.	youngest						+					
145.	Polyandry					−	−	−	−	−	−	−
146.	Sororate — polygynous					+	+	+	−	−	−	+
147.	Sororate — successive			+		+	+	−		+	−	+
148.	Sororate — obligatory			−		•+	−			•+	−	−
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter			+		+	+	+	−	−	−	−
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+	+		+	+	••	+	+	+	•
151.	Equally so in the man		+	+		+	+	•	+	+	+	•
152.	Punished only by separation	+	−	(−)		+	+		+	(+)	+	+
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+
154.	Without any particular cause	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
155.	May be limited by husband		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
156.	by wife		+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+
157.	Women seldom get divorce				+	+	+	+	+		−	−
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+	+	+	+	+	•	+		+	•+
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship						+	+				
160.	to any known degree			+		+			+	+	+	+
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common		+			+	•	•	−	−	−	+
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married					+	+	+	+	•	+	+
163.	Commonly					−	−	−	−	−	−	−
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children		+•			+	+	+	−	−	−	+
165.	Injurious to their reputations		+			+	•+	+	−		−	−
166.	Are they punished		−				−	−	+		−	−
167.	Affect chances of marriage		−			−	−		+		+	+
168.	Proportion of married women without children †											
169.	Average number of children in family			•	•4-5	3	•	12	12	12	4-5	8-10
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.)					2-3	•	2	2	1	2-3	2+
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children					16	•	16	30	21	18-20	20
172.	Age to cease					40	•	40	50+	70	•	50
173.	Age that men commonly get married		••	18-20		15-25	F30	20	25	25	18-21	17+ F20
174.	Age that women commonly get married		•	14-16		•	F24	20	20	20	16-21	17+ F20

585 587 837 ● 586 582 836 591 848 886 885

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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(116). While three of them had heard of the former use of cradleboards, one, J. W., denied ever hearing of them among the Delaware, although he was familiar with their use by other tribes. 854 352

Marriage and Its Incidents

From the majority of the accounts denying courtship between the principals of a marriage it appears that Chipps's description of a brief courtship which was also a marriage ceremony was not typical of the Delaware (131).[4] Lindeström's record of fantastic promiscuity of all the people except the chiefs need not be considered one way or the other. Such a condition would not be reasonable for any people and certainly could not have existed among the Delaware in 1654 without many more than Lindeström having been aware of it. Chipps and Lindeström are also the only dissenters to the statement that marriages were arranged by the parents (132). As already mentioned, Lindeström's statements are not trustworthy on the subject of marriage and Chipps was reporting a Canadian Munsee group that differed in many respects from the Delaware group in this country. His remarks on marriage are applicable to the Chippewa with whom the Canadian Munsee were in contact and with whom they intermarried. In the light of Pipe's remark about the ignoring of formality,[5] it is probable that Chipps's statements reflect a condition in the third period not wholly attributable to the Chippewa or confined to the Canadian Delaware. 584 [836 837]

According to the tabulation of remarks on the asking of the consent of either party, parents in the first two periods were much more considerate of the wishes of their children than parents in the last two periods (133). The explanation probably lies in the statements of Zeisberger and Pipe that refusals to comply with the wishes of parents were rare. The story told by F. R. is an example of the means used by parents and other elders to keep the young folks in line.[6]

[4] See *post*, p. 107.
[5] See *post*, p. 109.
[6] See *post*, pp. 107-8.